

## Message Text

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51

ACTION NEA-12

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FM USINT CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4071

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 3181

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EG IS

SUBJECT: HEYKAL ON EGYPT'S GOALS

1. HEYKAL'S OCTOBER 18 EDITORIAL IS DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO QUESTION OF ISRAELI THEORY OF SECURITY: IS IT RIGHT OR WRONG? ARABS, HEYKAL STATES, WANT TO PROVE THE LATTER, WHILE ISRAEL WANTS TO PROVE SECURITY THEORY CORRECT.

2. HEYKAL STATES ISRAEL MUST TAKE TWO CONSIDERATIONS INTO ACCOUNT: ISRAEL IS AN ISLAND IN AN ARAB SEA, AND ENCIRCLED; AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION DOES NOT GUARANTEE A POWER BALANCE IN HER FAVOR. ISRAELI SECURITY THEORY IS BASED ON FOLLOWING PRECEPTS: (A) OVERWHELMING MILITARY SUPERIORITY; (B) AN UNBEATABLE ARMY; (C) AN ARMY FOREVER WITH INITIATIVE IN ITS HANDS AND CAPABLE OF CARRYING WAR INTO ARAB TERRITORY; (D) WHEN WAR COMES, IT MUST BE A BLITZKRIEG BECAUSE FOR ISRAEL TOTAL MOBILIZATION BECOMES INTOLERABLE AFTER BRIEF PERIOD; (E) ISRAELI QUALITY MUST BE ABLE TO CANCEL ARAB  
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QUANTITY; (F) ISRAEL MUST FROM TIME TO TIME STRIKE FEAR

INTO HEARTS OF ARABS. HEYKAL NOTES HERE THE TRAP ISRAELIS SET FOR SYRIAN AIR FORCE AT TARTUS IN SEPTEMBER. FINALLY, ISRAEL MUST BE ABLE TO DEPEND ON A GREAT POWER. ISRAEL CONSTANTLY ASKS, IS US WITH HER OR NOT?

3. HEYKAL STATES THAT TO FACE ISRAEL ARABS MUST: (A) BE PREPARED TO FACE OVERWHELMING ISRAELI SUPERIORITY; (B) CARRY OUT A TWO-FRONT WAR; (C) TAKE INITIATIVE AND SURPRISE ISRAELIS; (D) WAGE EXTENDED WAR; (E) IMPROVE QUALITATIVELY; (F) PASS THROUGH "BARRIER OF FEAR;" (G) AND PLACE US UNDER IMMENSE PRESSURE.

4. HEYKAL TURNS TO FUTURE: CAN ISRAEL RECOVER FROM PRESENT SITUATION? NOT EASILY, HE IMAGINES. ISRAELI SECURITY THEORY DOES NOT DEPEND ON TERRITORY, BUT IS PHILOSOPHY OF ENTIRE COMMUNITY. HEYKAL CALCULATES THAT ISRAELI REACTION WILL BE ONE OF SHOCK AT WHAT HAPPENED, FEAR AT WHAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED HAD WAR BEGUN ON ISRAELI FRONTIER, ANGER AT ISRAELI LEADERS FOR BEING TAKEN BY SURPRISE (HEYKAL STATES DAYAN'S FUTURE MAY BE ENDED), CONCERN OVER FUTURE IMMIGRATION AND OVER WORLD IMAGE OF ISRAEL DAVID IN FACE OF ARAB GOLIATH.

5. HEYKAL STATES THAT IF ONE BASE OF ISRAELI SECURITY THEORY FAILS, THEN ALL BASES FAIL. EVEN US/ISRAELI RELATIONS WILL EXPERIENCE A RADICAL CHANGE. HEYKAL STATES NOT MANY ISRAELIS COULD HAVE BEEN PLEASED BY PRESIDENT NIXON'S REMARKS ABOUT US POLICY IN ME TODAY BEING SIMILAR TO US POLICY IN LEBANON IN 1958 AND JORDAN IN 1970.

6. IN SHORT, ISRAEL WILL FIND IT IN ITS INTEREST TO STOP FIGHTING IN ORDER TO REGROUP HERSELF AND LAUNCH ANOTHER ATTACK. HER PURPOSE WILL NOT BE MERELY TO REGAIN GOLAN OR EAST BANK OF CANAL, BUT TO SAVE HER THEORY OF SECURITY. HEYKAL CONCLUDES WITH REITERATION THAT AIM OF THIS PRESENT STAGE IS TO STRIKE AT THIS THEORY, BY SHAKING THE MILITARY INSTITUTION, PROVING ISRAELI WAR MACHINERY TO BE DEFECTIVE, AND TEARING OFF ISRAEL'S MASK OF ARROGANCE.

7. COMMENT: HEYKAL'S ARTICLE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BEFORE CURRENT ISRAELI ARMORED OFFENSIVE IN SINAI. HE  
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NEVERTHELESS PREPARES GROUND FOR EVENTUAL EGYPTIAN FALLBACK SHOULD SUCH BE NECESSARY. SECONDLY, HE MAKES NO MENTION OF EGYPTIAN TERRITORIAL OBJECTIVES: IN MIDDLE OF ARTICLE HE STATES THAT, TO ISRAEL, PRINCIPAL QUESTION IS WHAT WILL PREVENT ARAB FROM GOING BEYOND JUNE 5 BOUNDARIES SHOULD THEY GET SO FAR, BUT HE DOES NOT ANSWER THIS QUESTION. FINALLY, HE IMPLIES THAT ISRAELI TRAP SET FOR SYRIAN AIR FORCE OFF TARTUS ON SEPTEMBER 13 WAS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE IN CONTRIBUTING

TO PRESENT HOSTILITIES.  
SMITH

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